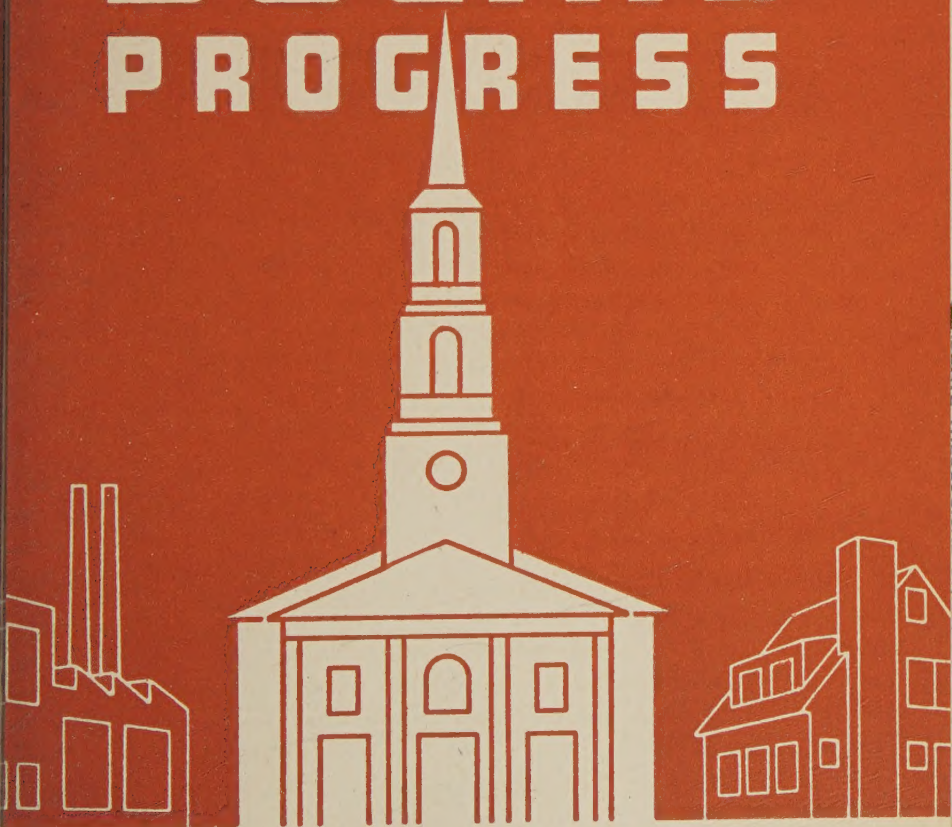


# SOCIAL PROGRESS



Challenge of Peace  
• School of Alcohol Studies  
Atomic Bomb

OCTOBER 1945

# SOCIAL PROGRESS

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## Social Progress

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# *The Challenge of Peace*

*By J. Harry Cotton \**

CONFLICT dies slowly. Our souls are still twisted by hatred and fear. Not suddenly may we shift from war to peace. Weary of war, with an uneasy conscience over the atomic bomb, we are scarcely prepared for fresh conflicts. Race tensions are dangerous. New labor wars are in the making. As for Germans and Japanese, it is hard not to think of them as enemies. Something in all of us not tired of war still spoils for a good fight.

The Church suffers from this danger. Under cover of a righteous struggle our sympathies may lead us to be partisans in new conflicts. Churchmen will be found supporting the Negro, the Jew, the labor union, the Japanese. But to be a partisan in a new conflict is a strange position for a Christian to occupy. For conflicts seldom issue in justice. Victory goes to the strong, and the weak are often crushed more helplessly than ever. Conflict is a test of strength, not of justice.

Ours is the essential work of the peacemaker, the task of reconciliation. This does not mean rushing into the midst of a melee, frantic in invoking peace, the meanwhile taking blows upon ourselves. Nor does it mean that we invariably espouse some weak compromise—

peace at any price. Nor do we arrogate to ourselves the superior wisdom which sees the meaning of conflict more clearly than any contestant, and which enables us to be judges in the affairs of men. Nor does our work of reconciliation entitle us to pontificate on economic and social questions with a bland disregard for fact. As a class, ministers have exhibited a strange fondness for economic nonsense, which has not passed the first test of intelligent criticism.

The task of reconciliation consists of four parts: (1) finding the facts; (2) understanding the views on all sides of the issue; (3) interpreting each side to the other; and (4) bringing the light of the Christian Gospel to bear upon issues and parties. Let us consider each briefly.

1. If we are not to be an annoyance in the affairs of men, we must develop a nose for facts. In a conflict, each side becomes skilled in finding data that supports its arguments and in ignoring all others. We must, therefore, have access to the results of research conducted by independent and impartial agencies. Without relation to these facts, all the good will in the world is an impertinence. It is surprising to see, for example, how unscientific most economic arguments turn out to be,

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and how successful is the resistance of ardent partisans to the contrary fact. The network of facts is surprisingly vast and imposing. What happens in the battle for sanitation in western Pennsylvania coal-mining towns may be of economic consequence to a telegraph operator in a small village on the great Northern Pacific Railway in North Dakota.

2. The same facts assume very diverse aspects when seen by partisans in a conflict. The demand for motorcars in the postwar world, for example, is one thing to a member of U. A. W., and quite another to Henry J. Kaiser who, at the moment, is reported to be considering the purchase of the Willow Run plant. The fact of racial discrimination is one thing to a Negro, and quite another to a white man. The Church needs more imagination than it is likely to muster to perceive accurately why men struggle.

3. Only where we have seen the meaning of conflict from both sides shall we be prepared to interpret one side to the other. This is the essential work of reconciliation. Take, for example, the current and urgent issue of the relative importance of political and economic freedom. The conservatives are insisting that a planned economy will eventually destroy political freedom. Mr. Hayek's argument does have weight.<sup>1</sup> But they shrug their

shoulders over the lack of economic freedom of the unemployed. The liberals, on the other hand, are quite insistent that political without economic freedom is worth nothing. Grant the latter and the former will take care of itself. But it never has. Vigilance is still the price of liberty. Certain Europeans, who have lived under the Nazi tyranny, are simply amazed at the contemporary discount of political liberty on the part of American liberals. But where today is the significant voice that prizes *both* of these liberties and is willing to sacrifice for them? One could almost promise the future to such a voice!

4. Our distinctive contribution, and the *only* hope of peace, is in bringing the light of the Christian Gospel to focus upon these issues. Here we move on sure ground. The sovereignty of God; his inevitable and righteous judgment; our common equality before him; our own original sin; the priceless worth of the human individual; the rightful lordship of Christ over every area of life—these eternal and glorious truths must be allowed to penetrate into every darkened corner of our American life.

Consider the area of labor relations. Some conflict there will be for generations. But a labor war now will ruin our economy for a generation. Yet it is in the making! With some notable exceptions, many employers still see red when the

<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Serfdom*, by Friedrich A. Hayek. University of Chicago Press.

question of unionism is raised. On the other hand, if labor is to have the monopolistic privilege of the closed shop, it must assume responsibility. The union must be financially responsible to its members. It must be responsible to the public for such uneconomic restraints in trade as have characterized the building-trades unions in the past. The principle of unionism is, let us hope, firmly established; and the employers may as well make up their minds at that point. Some of them have already learned to work with the unions; but the task of reconciliation demands attention at once. A notable start was made through a special commission of fifteen Presbyterians a year or more ago, whose report to the General Assembly<sup>2</sup> was one of the very finest specimens of the kind of reconciliation for which we are pleading.

Consider the area of racial tensions. Here trouble is brewing. The Negro has not always been wise in the speed with which he proposes to erase all distinctions. Only their wisest leaders recognize that the highest privileges can never be conferred. They must be won by the Negro himself. But the conscience of white Christians must be sensitized to the utterly pagan treatment which the Negro has received at the hands of the white race. As God

lives, this thing is wrong and is doomed! But for the immediate future resolute patience and careful reconciliation are urgent.

As we turn to the international scene the task of the Church is depressing in its magnitude. What of the Germans and the Japanese? Military occupation and forcible restraints from preparation for war are inevitable for them. The world cannot risk now any other course. But the Church does not rest there. No application of force will "re-educate" our former enemies, nor remove the hatred between us—not in a thousand years. Kindness the Church can furnish. It will not be lost effort. It will be especially fruitful with the Japanese. The presence of our armed forces will not let them mistake such kindness as a sign of weakness.

If the task of reconciliation to which the Church is called is not to be a vain beating of the air, we of the Church must be rededicated to its central mission, the reconciling of men to God. This is our work; it is not a means to an end. God is not to be harnessed to our pet reforms, no matter how nobly conceived. The profound paradox of the Gospel is just this: that only when we seek first the glory of God do we serve our fellow men.

Church of Christ, your hour is at hand! May God himself enlighten our minds, renew our faith, purify our hearts, and make us strong.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church and Industrial Relations*, Department of Social Education and Action, presented to and adopted by the 156th General Assembly, May, 1944.

# *Understanding Russia*

*By Jerome Davis \**

RUSSIA is a country that has been changing with lightning rapidity. I first went there in 1916 under the czar's regime. Later I toured the country on successive journeys ten times, and I have recently returned after having been in the country over a year. Every visit was unlike every other, and sometimes I felt almost as if I were in a different world.

Inevitably the changes during these three decades have been colossal. When I first went to Turkestan under the czar, some ninety per cent of the people in that area were illiterate; all women and girls wore horsehair veils completely hiding their faces. Now both illiteracy and the veil have been abolished. In the early days of the Revolution, if a family had a momentary quarrel either one could casually drop in at a Government office, sign on the dotted line, and be divorced.

No wonder Americans fail to understand the real Russia!

Here are some of the more widespread questions Americans ask: Hasn't Russia got a crazy economic system opposed to ours? Doesn't the Government own everything? What about the sinister Communist International and atheist museums,

Godless societies and the persecution of the faithful in Red Russia? What about the war on Finland, the partition of Poland, and the pact with Hitler?

Let us analyze these fears. It is true that Russia has nationalized the basic means of distribution, but what difference does it make to us? What Russia does in her economic life is none of our business. The Communist International did exist and was especially active in the period when the United States refused to recognize the Soviet Government. It used to have regular international congresses in Moscow; none have been held since 1935. The fact is that the organization is dead. Communists, to be sure, still carry on in America but they are a pitifully small group without aid from Russia. Both impotent and vacillating in ideology, they are not the slightest threat to our institutions.

Turning to the fight against religion in Russia, we find it has been completely abandoned. The atheist museums are closed, the Godless society dissolved, and 250 new Churches have been opened in Russia this past year. The dominant Russian Church now has its own printing press on which it is turning out Bibles, prayer books, and its own religious magazine. In addition

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\* Foreign Correspondent and lecturer on international, political, and industrial problems.

tion to all this it has its theological seminaries. I visited the school in Moscow and talked with both professors and students. Every student has to take five hours of English a week, and the dean implored me to send American religious books for the library. I found also that the Russian bishops are riding around in limousine cars. It begins to look as though, if there ever was a war against religion in Russia, it has been won by the Church.

When we turn to the question of Finland we find a peace settlement that has generally been applauded all over the world. The Finnish elections were conducted with freedom for all sides to vote and no responsible statesman has criticized them. The pact made by Russia with Hitler is today generally regarded as a move by the Russians to get a little breathing spell because England refused to join Russia in fighting the Nazis. Even the Polish problem seems well on the way to harmonious agreement between the Allies.

So much for our fears. What about those the Russians have for us? They remember the armed intervention in Archangel and Siberia by the Allies in co-operation with Japan when the Soviet government was struggling to be born. They recall the *cordon sanitaire* of small nations established to isolate Russia and the campaigns of false and malicious propaganda against

the "Reds," which swept around the world.

The Russians have not forgotten the long, hard years in which they tried desperately to prevent the coming of a second world war. They remember that when they entered the League of Nations they found that the talk about disarmament was largely hypocritical. No one took it seriously. Mussolini was allowed to swallow Ethiopia; Japan was encouraged to go into Manchuria with the blessing of Great Britain; and Czechoslovakia was offered up to Hitler on a golden platter without Russia being consulted.

Russia looks out on the world from a background of armed intervention; sixteen long years of non-recognition by the United States followed by suspicion and constant propaganda. Even in 1940 Great Britain proposed to send armed troops against Russia to help Finland—an act of war which was prevented only by Sweden's curt refusal. In spite of this long history of mutual recrimination and hostility Russia, Great Britain, and America are allies today. America has sent vast quantities of lend-lease equipment to the Soviet Union, which has been deeply appreciated by every Soviet citizen. If we were able to divest ourselves of our American prejudices, we would recognize that we can trust Russia just about as much as we can trust ourselves.

Take the San Francisco Confer-

ence as one test. The Russians proposed a rotating chairmanship. The American delegation was at first hostile to the idea. America proposed the entry of Argentina, which both our President and Secretary of State had denounced as the leading fascist state in the Americas. Our American delegates insisted on an immediate decision, thus blocking Russia's request for a four-day delay. Russia wanted Poland to be represented at the conference; America opposed. The United States demanded complete control in perpetuity of islands in the Pacific Ocean 4,000 miles or more from California which we wanted to fortify for security reasons. To the Russians this request seemed less reasonable than that they wanted a friendly Polish government. In the matter of trusteeships, Russia wanted agreements providing for eventual independence. America opposed. America urged no veto of discussion by the big powers. Russia, although at first opposed, finally agreed. Russia asked that observers be admitted from the World Labor Conference. America objected. On the veto power for the big five of military and economic sanctions both Russia and the United States were in entire agreement.

From this picture it cannot be said that the moral claim to righteousness is all with the United States. Some of our leading American commentators actually stated that moral

leadership of the conference passed from the United States to Russia.

Probably it is more accurate to say that Russia and America are much alike although they sometimes approach problems from the opposite side of logic as well as geography. Actually both countries desperately want peace and the opportunity to build their own societal structure in their own way for the happiness and welfare of the greatest number. Both countries place the greatest reliance on schools and education. America has perhaps better-trained educators, but Russia has virtually abolished illiteracy and provides scholarships, open to all young people, which give room and board as well as tuition. Here is one of the strongest reasons why I believe Russia of the future can be trusted; she is developing the rising brain power of the nation.

Both America and Russia have no colonies and want none. While America is farther advanced in industrialization, Russia is pressing toward the same goal. Both countries believe in the utmost possible use of technology. In the world of trade, Russia and America have no basic conflict with each other. Unless one counts the brief period of intervention by the United States neither country has been at war with the other.

Given any kind of chance Americans and Russians like each other

*(Continued on page 26)*

# *The Yale School of Alcohol Studies*

*By Thomas Franklyn Hudson \**

THIS past summer it was my great privilege to attend the third summer session of the School of Alcohol Studies at Yale University. Over a four-week period of intensive study, consisting of lectures, seminars, and demonstrations, we became acquainted with the problems of alcohol and alcoholism as they affect both the individual and society. Our leaders, who were drawn from the faculty of Yale University as well as from other institutions of education and public service, had all done original research on these problems. They represented the fields of physiology, medicine, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, religion, law, economics, political science, education, and other related areas of study.

The Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies originated as an experiment in the field of social education. The problem of alcoholism is one that has constantly baffled mankind. In the course of history, many solutions have been proposed, but it is quite true to say that none has been wholly successful. It is the feeling of those who have studied the problem thoroughly that in no sense has the failure been due either to a lack of enthusiasm or to disinterestedness,

but rather that the attempts at solution have been too fragmentary, based on single factors of the problem rather than the comprehension of the difficulty in its entirety. For this reason, the Yale School has attempted—and successfully, I feel—to explore the problem from every possible angle, demonstrating it in its totality and placing all factors in their proper integration.

The school is a project of the Laboratory of Applied Physiology at Yale, whose director is Dr. Howard W. Haggard. The summer activities are under the direction of Professor E. M. Jellinek of that laboratory, whose interest and enthusiasm for his subject are unparalleled. His thoroughness and sympathy are surpassed only by his passion for discovering the real facts of the problem.

Those who composed the student body of the school might be divided into six categories: (1) There was a large group of ministers and Church workers who were carefully chosen because of their interest in the problem, as well as their active participation in the field of social education and action in their respective denominations. (2) There was a group of social workers whose activities brought them into frequent contact with alcoholics. (3) There

\* Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon.

were several representatives of the liquor industry who were there to find out the facts that the school had discovered and to keep accurate record of all factual data. (4) There were several professional temperance workers, including delegates from practically all the major "dry" forces in the country. (5) There were educational leaders from several states. And (6) there were the representatives of Alcoholics Anonymous, that amazing organization of people from all walks of life who have been alcoholics but who now practice total abstinence. From my own point of view, this latter group comprised the most interesting personalities in the school. It included a lawyer, a physician, a railroad man, an educator, a real-estate salesman, and others of various professions and vocations. They comprised a happy set, willing and eager to tell about how they had become transformed from drunkards into total abstainers through a fellowship with those who had passed through similar experiences. The amazing thing to me was that each confessed that in his experience of finding sobriety he had also found God. Although the members are affiliated with various Churches and although there are no religious or theological requirements for membership, the members of Alcoholics Anonymous have not only found the mutual helpfulness of each other's presence in their organiza-

tion: they have also found God.

It is, of course, impossible to attempt a summary of the findings of the school in a brief article such as this. Moreover, the school's curriculum is purely descriptive. It presents facts, but it does not attempt to draw inferences from the facts. Each student is expected to draw his own inferences. Exhaustive statistics did show, however, that there are approximately 100 million men and women of drinking age in the United States, that is, of 15 years of age and over. Of this number, there are 50 million who use alcoholic beverages of some sort or other. Of these, 3 million become excessive drinkers, and out of these excessive drinkers 750,000 become chronic alcoholics. The chronic alcoholic is a diseased man, just as truly diseased as is the tubercular person or the person suffering from diabetes. The members of Alcoholics Anonymous say, "Once an alcoholic, always an alcoholic." They compare themselves to the diabetic—"Once a diabetic, always a diabetic." However, just as the diabetic may arrest his diabetes by abstinence from sugar and other foods hostile to his diabetes, so the alcoholic may arrest his alcoholism by abstinence from liquor. He must therefore constantly apply therapy to himself by reminding himself that he is an alcoholic and seeking to help others who are also victims of alcohol.

In my conversations with Church

leaders at Yale, I discovered that there is no uniform feeling on the part of the Christian Church toward the use of alcohol. At the school there were three distinct positions taken by Church leaders: (1) It is fair to say that the majority of Church people on the campus felt that total abstinence was the position to which Church people ought to adhere; this was particularly true of the Methodist delegation. (2) There was also a group of ministers who took the position that, while total abstinence was desirable, yet the moderate use of alcoholic beverages was permissible. (3) I also found a group of persons—and I still refer to Church leaders—who took the stand that moderation was desirable; that it was a mistake for the Church to insist upon total abstinence from its members. I would like to emphasize the fact, moreover, that this latter position was not a covert statement on the part of these individuals. It represented their outspoken views of the position that they had elected to espouse.

Although I am certain that many of the summer students reached viewpoints that will be totally at variance with my own, I left New Haven with four definite convictions regarding my own future attitude to the alcohol problem. I happen to be a resident of a state where hard liquor is sold only through the state liquor stores and where it is strictly rationed. Moreover, the

governor of the State of Oregon has appointed an advisory committee on alcohol education whose duty it has been to see to it that an exhaustive educational campaign is constantly being waged to acquaint the people about the dangers of the excessive use of alcoholic beverages.

But to get back to my four conclusions, they were as follows: 1. I determined that in my pastoral counseling with alcoholics I would work in close co-operation with my local group of Alcoholics Anonymous. Its members know the problem of the alcoholic from all angles. They have been through the mill themselves. They speak the same language. They know what the alcoholic is talking about when he describes some of his experiences. They are pledged to help others to achieve the same experience that they have had. They are sympathetic and they are eager to help. Every pastor ought to be aware of this group in his community and ought to become acquainted with some of its members.

2. I determined that the youth of my congregation would know the *facts* about the alcohol problem. Holding up the extreme example of the solitary figure who has ended his career in the gutter is no deterrent to the modern young person. He knows that it is an extreme case, and he also knows hundreds of drinking adults to whom that disaster has not occurred. How then can young

people be shown the real factors in the alcohol problem? Briefly, I think it can be achieved in four ways:

(a) by having an extremely active young people's program in the local Church whereby youth may find wholesome companionship, keeping them off the streets and providing social activities on week nights as well as Sundays; (b) by having an active program of alcohol education in the curriculum of young people's conferences, presenting the scientific and sociological background of the problem rather than a purely emotional approach; (c) by the development of a series of discussions of personal health and hygiene problems—in which young people are vitally interested—from the Christian point of view; and (d) by the use of social problem tours, including visitations to reputable institutions dealing with alcoholics and by attendance of meetings of the local groups of Alcoholics Anonymous.

3. I determined that I would cooperate with all agencies in the community that are interested in this problem and urge that we pool our resources and work together. Too often the Church leaders in a community ally themselves solely with the temperance workers. There are also social agencies, probation officers, educators, and others who are interested in the problem. Their approach, to be sure, will be vastly different, and on certain issues their opinions will be at variance with

those of the ministers. However, they are all seeking a solution, and that solution will best be found by working together. Last winter our governor brought the Yale School to Oregon for a week. The sessions were well attended and general interest was high. School, Church, community, and social agencies cooperated, assuring much wider public interest than if the school had been sponsored solely by Church and temperance forces.

4. I determined that I would publicize the Yale findings as widely as possible and would urge my fellow ministers and Church leaders to follow the future findings of its research with interest. The Yale School has not solved the problem of alcohol. But it has gone a long way in showing its complexities. I have not touched upon the Yale Plan Clinics, which is the subject of an article by itself. What has been achieved in these clinics in New Haven and Hartford should not be confined to the Atlantic seaboard.

Above all, I am now aware that the alcohol problem is more complex than I ever imagined. I am fully aware that many of my colleagues in the ministry feel that they know everything that the solution requires. To them I can only say that a summer spent at Yale will help them to see some things that they have overlooked and cannot but help to make them more effective agents in arriving at our common goal.

# *Adventure in Brotherhood*

*By Nevin Kendell \**

**D**URING the past summer six rural communities in Illinois were the scene of unique adventures in Christian brotherhood, when white families invited thirty-five Negro boys and girls from Chicago to spend vacations in their town and farm homes.

No Negroes had ever lived in those communities. Some of the local children had never seen a Negro. And most of the Negro children had never been in the country.

So when the hosts met the children at the train there were moments of silent curiosity. A country town was a strange sight to the city youngsters, and the children were a strange sight to the townspeople. But the strange soon became familiar. Within a couple of hours all the children were settled in their vacation homes and had begun to explore the quiet, taxiless village streets, or they were receiving their first introduction to a real, honest-to-goodness farm which was soon to become "our" farm.

The weeks passed quickly because they were packed with activity. In some communities the visitors attended the daily Vacation Bible School along with the local boys

and girls, and everywhere they were guests at many picnics and parties.

Out on the farms they found it great fun to feed the chickens, gather the eggs, fetch the cows—and some even tried to milk. The boys became "expert" tractor drivers, and almost everyone took a turn riding the horse—at least long enough for a snapshot. Farm boys initiated their new buddies to the ole swimmin' hole and taught them to "wait till the bobber goes clear under before you try to land a fish."

On Sunday everyone went to Sunday School and Church. With obvious pride local children introduced their new friends to the Sunday School teachers. But most of the time the local children and their guests simply played together as naturally as though they had always been playmates.

Color was quickly forgotten and hosts found that the visiting children were just children, some bright and some dull, some daring and some bashful. Some could sing and some couldn't. Each child was an individual.

The program began as a project in which Negro children were entertained in white homes. But long before the visits were over the youngsters thought of themselves simply as city children having a wonderful

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\* Formerly Director of the "Adventure in Brotherhood," Chicago, and now Traveling Fellow of the Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

time in the country, and the families thought of themselves simply as rural folk entertaining city children—who happened to be colored. One boy wrote his mother, telling about all the things he had been doing, and he concluded: "Look, mom, please don't write me any letters because I'm too busy to read them. . . . Love, Pete."

There were many moist eyes as the children boarded the train for the trek back home, waved frantically, and shouted, "Thanks again for a swell time!" And not all the moist eyes were on the train!

Many letters have been exchanged between the "vacation parents" and youngsters. There have been some return visits and more are in the offing.

"We have never had a more pleasant and well-behaved guest," said one family. "We surely hope he will visit us again."

The Illinois project, sponsored by the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Synod of Illinois and the Committee of Management of Grace Church Center in Chicago was patterned on a similar program

started last summer in Vermont. The Department of Social Education employed a worker to conduct the program, and Churches in the Presbytery of Chicago contributed money for the train fares.

Local pastors in one Congregational and five Presbyterian Churches suggested to their parish families that they invite Negro youngsters from Chicago to spend vacations in their town and farm homes. When the families had responded, each minister notified the worker in Chicago and told him how many were invited and when they were to come.

The worker visited Christian homes in the Negro community of Chicago, selected children between the ages of eight and thirteen, and made all the necessary arrangements with the parents. Then, on the day of departure, he took each group via train to the community where they were going to enjoy Christian hospitality. The local pastor was in charge of the children during the visit, and the worker accompanied each group back to Chicago.

*Pictures by courtesy of The Chicago Sun.*



Despite the thorough success of this program, we must remember that it does not strike at immediate crucial needs. We still must employ every method of direct action, legislative and otherwise, to obtain fair employment, decent unsegregated housing, and equal justice in every realm. The program must not be used to ease our conscience, nor be regarded as an alternative to other imperative duties. On the positive side of the ledger we should like to make several observations.

1. Entertaining children in one's home for two weeks is something substantial that involves effort and sacrifice. It is evidence of genuine sincerity and probably does not give white people an undeserved easy conscience.

2. This program reaches a group of people who are isolated from minority problems and makes them aware, perhaps for the first time, of America's number-one social evil.

3. It involves an important purpose, apart from race relations, which makes the interracial experiences natural and casual. By the end of the visits the families thought

of themselves simply as country folk entertaining city children.

4. It has won hundreds of new friends for the American Negro. When they hear of injustices and discrimination they will remember that it applies to the little boy or girl they learned to love and to the parents who wrote such kind letters.

5. Finally, this type of program is one to which the Christian Church is well adapted, not only because of its faith but because of its organization. There are Negro communities and Churches in every major city. There are Churches and people of good will in every rural community. The organization is there, to be used.

It is expected that next summer a great many more communities in Illinois and elsewhere will extend invitations and that many groups of Negro boys and girls will be sent out to enjoy vacations and to win friends—for themselves, for their group, and for a Christian cause.

The Department of Social Education and Action is prepared to offer guidance and help to any local groups that would like to plan a similar program for next summer.



# *The Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man*

*By Richard M. Fagley\**

IF THERE was any doubt that beneath the crisis of the Second World War lay a more profound crisis of man, the explosions in New Mexico, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki should have shattered the illusion. The fact that the illusion widely persists reveals the depth of our present, and possibly final, crisis.

Through the sacrifices of young men and scientific discovery, our secularized society survived the crisis of Hitler's pagan conspiracy. The faith of modern man in his own self-sufficiency unfortunately also survived, weakened, perhaps, but not broken. Consequently the end of one crisis becomes, with the discovery of atomic power, the beginning of a far greater crisis. From this crisis there is no escape by the ways familiar to secularism or worldliness. The inexorable "either-or" of the atomic bomb, upon which hangs the fate of life on this planet, leaves the pride of man no means by which to save itself. The only alternative to Armageddon is repentance and regeneration.

One tragic reflection of the present crisis is the picture, conjured up by some of our writers, of vast power and plenty made possible by atomic

energy. The promised land of freedom from want lies just ahead. Man has made the power of the sun his servant, and freed himself for luxury and leisure. How distorted is our vision to see so easily the vista of mechanical progress in this Atomic Age, and to fail to see clearly the greed, pride, and fear in ourselves which have now brought us to the doorstep of doom! Of course, atomic energy can lift the burden of poverty from the backs of countless millions and give all mankind the material basis for creative living. What should be equally obvious is that only if man has a new spirit within him can he pass over into this promised land. The Atomic Age is otherwise almost certain to be extremely short and extremely brutish!

Equally revealing is the naïve faith of many in the ability of science to control the threat of atomic bombs by creating effective counter weapons. The end of a scientific race between the development of anti-bombs and the development of bigger, faster bombs is not hard to see. It is the end of man on this earth. Not machines, but man with God's help, can control the power God has permitted man to discover.

Again, there is the common illusion that fear can protect mankind from atomic war. Fear, it is true,

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\* Secretary, the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

may help—if it leads men to seek, with a contrite heart, the protection and guidance of God. But fear by itself offers a short cut to catastrophe. The fear of destruction from atomic bombs in the present world of competing states would insure and hasten sudden, ruthless attacks with atomic bombs. Total aggression would become the strategy for survival. As Norman Cousins writes: "If history teaches us anything, it is that the possibility of war increases in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the instruments of war."

Of a piece with the above patterns of thought is the notion that the present crisis might be exorcised, if only the inventors would destroy their infernal machine, or if they would discontinue the manufacture of bombs, while the nations signed a pledge not to use them. For better or worse, however, the clock of history does not run backwards. Nor can its cosmic hands be stayed by Kellogg-Briand pacts. Atomic power is here to stay for the remainder of human history. And unless man can control himself as well as atomic power according to the moral law, both will no doubt terminate within a comparatively few years.

The argument for world government as a way to control the perils and potentialities of atomic energy is logical in detail. But its fundamental premise, that changes in political institutions by themselves would assure human survival, is false

like the rest of the secularist arguments. No form of government is foolproof. No system of international control can provide a final answer. Political institutions can be corrupted. Controls can break down.

This does not mean that the form of institution or the differences among types of political controls are unimportant. Far from it. Yet unless those who guide and those who support the governmental controls are themselves guided by that sense of human brotherhood whose one sure foundation is faith in God the Father of all men, even the best political system can fail. And failure in this Atomic Age means doom.

Twist and turn as we may, we cannot escape from this crisis by secularist means. We are driven inexorably from one false solution to another, unless and until we seek a more profound, religious solution. A deeper faith in God and therefore in man as a child of God and a more sacrificial effort to make brotherhood a guiding principle of society alone offer real hope that atomic rockets can be kept under control, and the new energy be put to the service of human needs. Unless men everywhere are moved to confess their own inadequacy, and seek to follow God's will rather than their own, no other strategy can save mankind.

*(Continued on page 27)*

## ***Temptations of the Victors***

To the victors of World War II, as to the victors of World War I, belongs the responsibility for the use to which they put their military victory. In that problem we are now enmeshed. Much of its difficulty lies in the range and complexity of the problems involved. But of even greater importance are the effects of victory on the minds and hearts of the victors themselves. Human experience shows that prosperity is often a more searching test of character than is adversity. Certainly there are temptations that lie across the path of today's victors. Here are some of them:

1. *Self-righteousness.* Superiority in military prowess may be equated with moral and even religious excellence.

2. *Complacency.* It is easy to overestimate the importance of a military victory. It means the war has been won; but no war in itself either solves any great social problem, lays the foundation for peace, or registers any achievement in established patterns of human relationships based upon justice, freedom, or brotherhood.

3. *Reliance on military measures.* The warmaking mind tends to think that peace can be made and held by the same means that wars are won—by military measures. There is the temptation to resort to repressive and preventive, rather than curative and creative, measures in furtherance of the victor's objectives.

4. *Blindness to one's own faults.* Warmaking tends to externalize good and evil: the enemy becomes the incarnation of evil; one's own cause becomes identified with righteousness. Much of this is necessary for the morale aspect of the war effort. But it spells disaster if carried over into war's aftermath. Military victory is victory over a particular manifestation of evil; embodiments of the same spirit may be found within other nations including our own. The things that Hitler stood for are present and operative, in some cases increasing, within American community and national life.

5. *Fear of becoming a Santa Claus to the other nations.* Because the United States comes out of this war untouched in its sources of wealth and incomparably richer than any other nation, the economic basis of a just and enduring peace will be the testing ground of our understanding and willingness to co-operate. We will bring neither of these if we see in every proposal for international economic co-operation a conspiracy by other nations to use us as an international Santa Claus. According to our strength we must share with those who are weaker.

# e These

## **We Are Happy to Announce**

Miss Fern Colburn has joined the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action. For sixteen years she has been the head director of the Beth Eden Neighborhood House, a project of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. This experience gives her special qualifications to carry the Child Care and Family Welfare phase of the Social Education and Action program of the local community. This work, a part of the War-Time Service Fund program is promoted jointly by the Board of National Missions and the Board of Christian Education through the Interboard Commission.

Rev. Nevin Kendell is breaking new ground as the first Traveling Fellow of the Department of Social Education and Action. Mr. Kendell graduated from McCormick Theological Seminary last spring and directed the Adventure in Brotherhood described elsewhere in this issue. Both in the seminary and the Churches which he has served, he has given effective leadership at several vital points of the program of Social Education and Action. It is expected that he will deal especially with Christian interracial relations and particularly among the youth groups of the Churches.

## **Profits and Liquor**

The liquor industry certainly was not a war casualty. On the contrary, it revealed itself anew as a particularly favored child of contemporary society. The restrictions placed upon it were peripheral. And in the face of shortages—man power, rubber, gasoline, paper, grains, and other materials—its prominence in wartime stood out.

Why some people drink and why other people do not drink is the focal point for the Church. But relevant to this is the fact that it is to the advantage of some people to have others drink: it pays in dollars and cents. The profit motive exerts constant pressure upon the few to encourage drinking by the many.

The profit motive at work may be seen: First, among the producers of alcoholic beverages: the business represents a first-class investment. Secondly, among the distributors: a walk along an average street reveals hotels, restaurants, stores, taverns, and roadhouses whose owners look to the sale of liquor for their profits. And, thirdly, among the advertisers: newspapers, periodicals, outdoor advertisers, and some radio stations build up their profits through revenues from the liquor industry.

From these groups come social pressures designed to create a desire to drink and to strengthen the practice of drinking. Would it not be a major

social contribution to the solution of the liquor problem to take the profit motive out of the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages?

**For Study** The guaranteed annual wage is one of the most pressing of the social issues that lie ahead. A newspaper chain last spring ran a series of articles that were generally friendly to the principle involved. A Government committee representative of management and labor is studying it. Powerful elements in organized labor give it great prominence among their objectives. The 157th General Assembly last May recommended that it be studied "throughout the Church as to whether it is in keeping with the principles of a Christian economic order."

The idea is not a novel one in business practice. The Nunn-Bush Company, shoe manufacturers; Geo. A. Hormel & Co., packers; and Proctor & Gamble, soap manufacturers, were pioneers in this field. *Collier's* magazine is among its most recent adherents.

In principle the guaranteed annual wage aims to extend to the wage earners the practice that obtains for executives, professional people like teachers and ministers, and workers in certain types of white-collar positions. Those who work for others are paid either a wage or a salary. The salary is paid on a yearly basis, and thus assures an income for the entire twelve months. The wage is paid by the hour or the day, or the job. Coal miners and some in the building trades and others, prove, however, that even good hourly or daily wage rates add up to an insufficient annual income, for the number of hours or days a man is employed may be far from the total working days of the year.

It is recognized that this subject calls for wide and thorough study. The extension of the principle to a measurable area of economic life would have far-reaching consequences which should be carefully evaluated; the application of the principle would call for much discrimination in the light of the variety and complexity of economic life.

Among the reasons advanced in support of its serious consideration are the following: 1. Only a guaranteed annual *income* can match the *expenses* that must be met on an annual basis, both by the individual and the family. The benefits to home life that would accrue from it are emphasized; 2. A guaranteed annual wage would greatly contribute to the amount and stability of available purchasing power; 3. The potential productive capacity of American industry is such that a guaranteed annual wage is generally possible. In the light of the Christian principle of the worth of each personality, does not justice call for transmuting this possibility into actuality?

# *As a Conservative Sees S. E. A.*

*By John T. Wriggins \**

WHEN this conservative minister takes a first look at Social Education and Action, he finds that some conservatives are unfriendly. I heard one critic call it "that communistic stuff." Other conservatives, whom I admire and with whom I agree completely in most religious respects, have made statements that seem to be against Social Education and Action. Sometimes they couple Social Education and Action and the "social gospel" together.

Others say that at times there has been a tendency to make the Kingdom of God central with a too one-sided emphasis on this while pushing the atonement a little to one side; and, when men do this, they are too prone to make it a kingdom with no living—a mere ethical or social program with a ritual. Christ is not asked to rule. Men think they can do right and proudly imagine that they build a kingdom. This will never, never, work.

It is true also that the New Testament does not seem interested in making a direct attack against social evils. Those people were primarily interested in saving souls, and somehow, without a direct attack, the evils were to some extent overcome. At least they made progress. It was

the process of the leaven working quietly.

It is doubtless true that many Christians who become enamored of the social implications of the Gospel plunge into the social conflict with a direct attack against someone or something. Thus, they are drawn into using the methods of those they oppose. They soon discover that the law of action and reaction in the realm of physics applies to human affairs. The other fellow always hits back. The "social gospeler" may get dirtied, and the cause of religion becomes, to that extent, the object of scorn.

Some conservatives call attention to the fact that the Church may get so busy telling the rest of the world how to conduct itself that it overlooks the same evils in its own body. There is some truth in this, but this must not stop us. We cannot wait until the Church is perfect. Part of the Church's social task is to raise its own social standards, the higher to raise those of the rest of the world. We must work at this task until even our "nice, respectable Churchmen" are socially aroused.

One reason for my convictions about social questions is that I have learned about them from personal experience—the hard way. I worked in factories—by gaslight—in my

\* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Shortsville, New York.

teens, and that is not so long ago. I have worked at white-collar jobs, also on farms and in the building trades. I know the slums intimately, though I was not raised in them. These social problems, therefore, do not come to me from books. I breathed them, smelled them, tasted them, and lived with them. They are part of my life. I do not think God wills these things to be as they are.

Another reason for my convictions about social problems is that in this life there is a law of progress. We each must grow—not only physically but in personality. Then each person necessarily leaves behind him much of what he has developed. The people who come after him take over from there. It would be utterly irrational and confusing to destroy each person's attainments and force the next generation of babies to start from scratch. By the billions of little attainments, discoveries, inventions, the race has progressed. It is the law of all life. The purpose of this is to develop personalities who have grown—progressed in this earth-bound school of life—and have trusted God through it all. God has a distinctive place in eternity for all such persons.

Part of the law of progress, without which progress slows down and even deteriorates, is that things should become better as we go along—better in terms of kindness, fairness, justice, brotherhood, equality, and opportunity for all to develop

personality to the full—not only for the better enjoyment of this life but so that God shall have more fully developed spirits in eternity to be with him. Any condition on this earth that stunts the personal development of any child of any color, race, class, or creed just isn't right. And, if it isn't right, it is contrary to the will of God. We are, therefore, bound to do what can be done to make things better so that more people can have a chance to develop personally.

If war stunts personal growth, we must attack war. If slums do the same, or sweat shops, or racial or religious discrimination, it is our duty to attack these also. It may be objected that fiery trials develop personality, as Peter has said. This is true, but the very growth of personality for the victims as for us all depends on rising above, attacking, and erasing the fiery trials. The man who was struck down by thieves had an exceptional opportunity to develop by his fiery trial, but Jesus condemned the two that left him there to develop—and praised the good Samaritan who did something about it.

It is certain that God is against social wrongs. We have abundant Biblical proof that the poor and weak are to be cared for and that their lot in general be made easier. Involved in this is our duty to remove the causes of their poverty and weakness if we can. The duties of

kings and other rulers of men as they pertain to justice, righteousness, and accountability to God are well provided for—as well as the duties of citizens to obey these rulers. The duties of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, are again and again set forth—by Paul and others. The proper treatment of strangers of all kinds and even of enemies is described. The widows and the fatherless are not forgotten. The workman is to be paid fairly and promptly. Merchants are to use honest weights. Keeping people in semislavery by usury, a curse especially among the illiterate, is shown in its proper light. The alcohol problem is not forgotten—neither is the treatment of the sick and the aged. War is condemned and world brotherhood with equality is urged. Dishonesty is thoroughly condemned, as are oppression, arrogance, bribery, adultery, infanticide, injustice, neglect of mercy, and selfishness. All these social problems are dealt with in the Bible.

The question then arises, "How shall we attack these problems?" Our Church, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, knows that our first and pre-eminent task is to win individual souls to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. Our Church certainly knows that this is the best and fastest way to bring about social change—the way of the leaven leavening the whole lump. The Department of

Social Education and Action knows this. But the church believes too that evangelization is not the entire program of the Church; that there is a need for one department of the Church to be set apart, whose members will specialize in the social implications of the Gospel and in the work of bringing the social questions forcefully before the Church and of rousing the Church to action. The Department of Social Education and Action has this mandate.

The duty of the rest of the Church is to be responsive and aggressively co-operative. It is the hope of the members of the Department of Social Education and Action that the more successful their efforts are, the more the Church will be moved to increased challenge and activity in the fields of evangelization and general missionary enterprises, and this is exactly what is happening. As a Church, we are moving ahead in all departments.

As far as strategy in the Department of Social Education and Action is concerned, our efforts in the matter of world peace show the value of concentrating on one subject—with strong leadership from headquarters. We learn to work together. We gain experience in pooling our resources with other Churches.

And so the work goes on. We shall never see a perfect world. But our duty is to work toward perfection as long as God gives us strength.

# *World Order and the Atomic Bomb*

The atomic bomb is the greatest expression to date of the thought, "We are enemies one of another." It is the acme of organized destruction, and in its further use lie untold menace and catastrophe to mankind.

Less than two months before its use, fifty nations, embracing 85 per cent of the world's population, had signed a charter for joint action not only in dealing with threats to the peace of the world but in eradicating social and economic causes that might develop into threats. The United Nations is the fullest manifestation to date of Paul's words, "We are members one of another." In the fulfillment of that promise within the Charter lies the possibility of untold well-being to all men and nations.

In itself the bomb, or rather the release of atomic energy, need not be evil; nor of itself is the Charter good. The determining factor is the use to which each is put by the minds and hearts of men. The same atomic energy released in war fury can be used instead for new adventures in civilization. Similarly, if the United Nations Charter is allowed to become a maneuvering ground for national or imperialistic advantage, or to be supported indifferently, then it will avail nothing.

The meanings of the atomic bomb and of the Charter for the future are therefore at present ambiguous. The answers lie not within these themselves—the one a physical instrument; the other a political instrument—but rather within men like ourselves. The spirit which we bring to living together across interracial, economic, and international lines within community, nation, and world will be decisive. Love active in good will; good will organized to establish justice; justice granting the same liberty to the many which is claimed by the few—in these spiritual forces lie the redeeming purposes in which both atomic energy and the United Nations

Charter will find their place in God's will for men.

More important, therefore, than when taken by the 157th General Assembly in May is its recommendation to the Churches that "during the month of November, emphasis be given to study and action on the international aspects of world order, joining in the interdenominational observance of November 11 as World Order Sunday."

### *Suggestions for Use in the Churches*

Observe the day with a service of worship appropriate to the theme, with a sermon on "The Spirit Giveth Life" or "The United Nations and the Christian Citizen."

Print in the Church bulletin the preamble of the United Nations Charter.

Plan the Sunday School program around a theme such as "Going Forward Together."

Have adult Bible classes study the United Nations Charter in the light of Christian principles.

Have the young people's society or fellowship confront the challenge of the Charter to Christian citizenship.

### *For the Month of November*

Preach a series of sermons on topics such as "Nations United for What?" "Blind Spots and Stumbling Blocks."

Have a series of meetings (or broadcasts) on the theme "Who Are the United Nations?" to promote understanding of our fellow members and their attitude toward some of the policies and practices of the United States.

Plan a service on behalf of Christian world reconstruction with the observance in the homes of a sacrificial meal.

Sponsor a book table in the Church and in the public library on the relation of the United States to the United Nations and its members.

# POLITICAL ACTION

## *From War to Peace*

As this page is being written, Congress, after little more than a month's absence, has returned to Washington to face a welter of problems made acute by the sudden and unexpected cessation of the war in the East.

## *The Job Ahead*

The President, in his message to Congress, defined clearly the situation confronting the nation and outlined the legislative program which in his judgment is needed to meet the problems created by it. There are many and diverse opinions as to the merits and faults of the message and its proposals; but a study of it and a careful following of news and radio comment by Congressmen and leaders in industry, labor, and other related fields will put the Christian citizen in possession of the facts, viewpoints, and recommendations. These will prepare him intelligently to evaluate the legislative proposals as they are made; to advise his representatives in Congress of his considered judgment in support or opposition; and to enlist interest and promote political activity among his friends and neighbors.

Following, in briefest outline, are Mr. Truman's proposals:

## *The Immediate Task*

**The Goal:** To "re-establish an expanded peacetime industry, trade, and agriculture, and to do it as quickly as possible."

**For Industry:** Removal of inhibiting wartime restrictions and introduction of tax revision as soon as possible with due regard to economic safety.

**For Labor:** Increased unemployment compensation and a higher minimum wage "as a matter of sound business." The displaced war worker, Mr. Truman comments, must continue to be a buyer of civilian goods.

**For Veterans:** Clarification of job guarantees; benefits for permanently wounded; liberalized guarantees of soldiers' life insurance and social security

coverage; federally reclaimed farm land made available.

## *Task After Reconversion*

"The greatest peacetime industrial activity that we have ever seen . . . can happen," Mr. Truman said, "if the Congress and the Administration move vigorously and courageously to deal with the economic problems which peace has created."

To that provision we of the Churches should add, and hold before ourselves and our communities, the necessity of whole-hearted co-operation and understanding among the people—in industry, business, and civilian groups.

To achieve this goal after reconversion is completed, the President recommended legislation to provide for:

1. Full employment: jobs for all ready, able, and willing to work.

2. An expanded and liberalized social security program.

3. A national housing and slum clearance program.

4. A long-range program of development of natural resources and of essential public works.

5. Assistance for farmers and small businessmen.

6. A Permanent Fair Employment Practices Act to ban discrimination in employment for reasons of race, religion, or national origin.

7. Government assistance and direction in scientific research.

## *Task in World Co-operation*

Speaking of the role of the United States in the world, Mr. Truman said:

Warned against insistence on "dollar" payment of lend-lease.

Emphasized the need of European countries for American loans.

Recommended continued American grants to UNRRA.

Urged continued draft of men 18 to 25 for period of 2 years.

***Continued vigilance is the price of world order.***

# Sanctuary

## Prayers After Victory

*Not by might, nor by power,  
But by my Spirit, saith Jehovah of hosts.*

### Summons to Worship:

*Leader:* "Oh come, let us worship and bow down;  
Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker:

*Response:* For he is our God,  
And we are the people of his pasture."

*Leader:* "Commit thy way unto Jehovah;  
Trust also in him, and he will bring it to pass."

*Response:* "Jehovah is nigh unto all them that call upon him,  
To all that call upon him in truth."

### The Invocation:

O Thou whose nearness is the answer to all our needs, help us in worshipping thee to lift our spirits above their weariness and littleness to thy eternal presence; and when our hour of worship is ended may the peace of it still possess us and its vision not grow dark. In Jesus' name. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

### The Lord's Prayer.

### Hymn of Praise:

"All People That on Earth Do Dwell"—Tune, "Old Hundredth."

### The Responsive Reading:

Happy are they who are inwardly detached from the things of this passing world, things which perish with the using;

*They shall enjoy God's imperishable treasures.*

Happy are they who put themselves in the place of others, who have a heart at leisure from itself, to soothe and sympathize;

*They shall be fortified for life's every ordeal.*

Happy are they whose gentleness controls their strength, who respect the personality and rights of others;

*They shall enjoy the good will of all, and shall be remembered.*

Happy are they who have a passionate desire to establish right relations, man with God and man with man;

*They shall know life's durable satisfactions.*

Happy are the compassionate, from whom nothing human is alien, who stand in with their fellows, and play the game;

*They shall have abundant return.*

Happy are they whose motives are free from the taint of self, whose great interest is in others' good;

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<sup>1</sup> From *The Fellowship of Prayer*, Gaius Glenn Atkins. Lent, 1945.

*They shall see God everywhere and in everything.*

Happy are they who practice the spirit of reconciliation in all life's relationships;

*They shall be acknowledged as true children of God, Who would reconcile the world unto himself.*

Happy beyond measure are they who do the right, handsomely, yet suffer for it;

*Theirs is the Earth, and everything that's in it.<sup>2</sup>*

### **Prayer of Thanksgiving:**

Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, who alone makest men to be of one mind, and stillest the outrage of a violent and unruly people; we bless thy holy name, that it hath pleased thee to appease the tumults which have been raised up among us. Most humbly we beseech thee to grant to all of us grace, that we may henceforth obediently walk in thy holy Commandments; and continually offer unto thee our sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving for these thy mercies toward us; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### **Prayer of Confession:**

O God, thou art righteous in all thy ways and just in every transaction. Even as we come to thee in this hour when thou hast made wars to cease unto the ends of the earth; and in this very moment, when our happiness in the surcease of arms is almost unbearable; we remember before thee our share in and our moral responsibility for this war just closed. We do not presume to enter into the fruits of peace without first confessing our grievous faults: the sin of pride, of selfishness, of disobedience, and of greed. Hear our prayer of confession, O God, and forgive thy erring children. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

### **Prayers for the Nations:<sup>3</sup>**

Almighty God, Ruler of all the peoples of the earth: Forgive, we beseech thee, our shortcomings as a nation; purify our hearts to see and love the truth; give wisdom to our counselors and steadfastness to our people; and bring us at last to that fair city of peace whose foundations are mercy, justice, and good will, and whose Builder and Maker thou art; through thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, supreme Governor of all men: Incline thine ear, we beseech thee, to the prayer of nations, and so overrule the imperfect counsel of men, and set straight the things they cannot govern, that we may walk in the paths of obedience to places of vision, and to thoughts that purge and make us wise; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### **Prayer for Ourselves:**

O God, our Father, stir up our hearts and wills, that we may attain more of self-mastery. Help us this day to think and speak and do only things as will leave no regret. May we have reverence for all that is good; may we hate all that is selfish and base. In our contacts and relationships with our fellows may we have only the spirit of courtesy, good will, and helpfulness. So may we become masters of our own lives, strong to control our desires, and resolute to match our action to our highest thought. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Maclean, Moderator of General Assembly of Victoria, Australia.

<sup>3</sup> From *Prayers of the Spirit*, by John Wallace Suter. Harper & Brothers. Used with permission.

## Understanding Russia

(Continued from page 6)

During the war when the aviators of both countries came to know each other at American bases in the heart of Russia, they were friends from the start. Both were open, frank, and natural. Americans would fly in from Italy and within fifteen minutes would be playing baseball, with Russians out in force to watch the game.

I wrote to American firms doing business with Russia. Every single one reported that Russia has scrupulously fulfilled her contracts. When Russia first began to do business with the United States the contracts often provided payment in ninety days or more. Amusingly enough some of these firms would then turn around and sell these promises to pay at eighty cents on the dollar just to be certain that they got their money, before the Soviets "blew up" or repudiated their obligations. Today Russian promises to pay are never sold. A Russian agreement is considered as good as a gold bond.

Our American ambassadors since the Revolution, with one exception, have felt that Russia could be trusted. And that one failed in his mission to Russia and now holds no post with the American Government.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower has repeatedly stated his trust and confidence. For example, he says: "Our liason with Russia has always been as close and intimate as necessary to meet any situation at any particular moment. They have given me the information I desired, willingly and cheerfully. I am completely satisfied."

Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Donald Nelson, prominent American business leader, and Wendell Willkie all testified that the Russians didn't hold anything back but let them go wherever they wanted and see everything.

If we test Russia by the war and by

the postwar period, she has demonstrated, by her deeds, that she hates fascism.

No doubt Stalin always places Russia first when he decides foreign policy, but this is true of both the United States and Great Britain.

The best way to prove that we can trust Russia is by doing so. We must enter into more and more business relationships with her. We will find this just as mutually advantageous as our military partnership. Deal with Russia, work with her, settle international problems as they arise on a basis of give and take. If this involves some risk it is far less than the alternative of war.

We must stand for the right as we see it but we must recognize Russia's right to the same freedom. We must go farther and recognize that our interpretation of conditions across the seas may be, and probably often is, warped and biased. The actions of our delegates at San Francisco were far from a monopoly of right and justice. Let us go forward in mutual friendship. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." Faith always inspires faith, and co-operative effort is the only security against war.

### Recent Books About Russia

*The Basis of Soviet Strength*, by George B. Cressey. Whittlesey House. \$3.00.

*USSR. The Story of Soviet Russia*, by Walter Duranty. Lippincott. \$3.00.

*These Are the Russians*, by Richard E. Lauterbach. Harpers. \$3.00.

### Forthcoming Books

*Russia and the Western World*, by Max M. Laserson. Macmillan. (September.)

*U.S.S.R. Foreign Policy*, by Victor A. Yakhontoff. Coward-McCann. (October.)

*Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1913-1945*, by Harriet Moore. Princeton University Press. (September.)

## The Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man

*(Continued from page 15)*

The fate of the world, therefore, in a literal sense, depends upon the ability of the moral and religious forces, and above all, of the Christian Churches, to call men effectively to repentance, worship, and service. The conversion of man, who, as Cousins puts it, "has exalted change in everything but himself," has suddenly become a life-and-death issue, not merely for individuals, but for the race. Beyond all other groups, our Churches are confronted with the ultimatum of the atomic bomb, for they alone can provide a significant answer.

There is little comfort in recognizing the supreme responsibility of our Churches for the fate of mankind. For nineteen centuries we Christians have preached the Good News more often with our lips than with our lives. We have preached, in tolerant fashion, that "the wages of sin is death," and proceeded generally to accommodate ourselves to the society about us. And now our Churches, infected with the secularist spirit, are suddenly called upon to save humanity from the impending doom created by that spirit. No, the prospect is far from comforting.

If only there were time! Time to make up for lost opportunities, time to gird up our loins for Christian evangelism and education on a scale and with an intensity worthy of our faith! But the sands of this Atomic Age run out so quickly, and the opportunity seems so short and final. The experts believe that other states will be able to make atomic bombs in three to five years. When and if that happens, when two or more states can bring about their mutual destruction, the final race to disaster will, in all likelihood, be short indeed. Through God's mercy, a remnant in some forgotten isle or some deep tunnel might be spared to begin again the long uphill trek. We dare not, however, expect

much undeserved mercy. We have had too ample warnings of judgment, to mistake the consequences of continued disobedience. We know, as Major George Fielding Eliot has pointed out, that the logical outcome of the full development and use of atomic bombs is the extinction of life on earth.

With time so short, and our unpreparedness so great, we must act, not only to deepen and strengthen Christian evangelism and education for ourselves and all men, but we must also support every expedient control of atomic energy which offers the prospect of a little more time and more hopeful conditions in which to work.

The chief expedient deserving, or rather demanding, immediate attention is the establishment of international controls over all atomic power that can be used in bombs. It seems absolutely clear that the menace of atomic war would become acute if control of the bomb slipped from sole possession by the United States into the hands of two or more competing states. If that happened, and indeed it is the probable and expected development, the need to combine these separate controls into one mutual control would be desperate. Yet the very factors that made the need so tremendous—the overwhelming fear and suspicion, and the equally overwhelming tendency to attack in the hope of survival—would make international control extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

If international control alone offers some hope of preventing catastrophe at least temporarily (and perhaps permanently, given a new spirit in man), then the one favorable time to achieve such control is now. The reasons seem obvious. Now the initial and probably crucial decision is in the hands of one state, the United States, rather than in the hands of two or more states. Now the United States has preponderant bargaining power, because of its temporary monopoly, to secure the type

of international control most favorable to its own security as well as to the security of the rest of the world. Now, at the climax of a coalition victory before the spirit of co-operation has been broken by a new race for atomic armaments, is the psychological moment for agreement. Now is when the United Nations Organization, untarnished by neglect, misuse, or failure, offers a promising control mechanism. Every month the decision is delayed dims the prospects for success. As fear and suspicion, frantic research and intense secret preparations mount, the difficulties of achieving agreement will mount higher.

The present difficulties are formidable enough. Fear already stalks the halls of government and the homes of our people. The corrosive effects of fear are already seen in government policy. Every short-sighted or evil-minded politician has new fuel for the fires of nationalism or imperialism. The timid politician is paralyzed with doubts or self-concern. Others are confused by the technical difficulties. As a result, the achievement of international atomic controls will at best mean a hard uphill campaign.

Of course, even American initiative—and no other country can take the initiative—might not succeed. The United States could not yield its monopoly to the United Nations without securing in return the maximum guarantees possible that no other nation would acquire the power to manufacture atomic energy separately. These would no doubt require international manufacture in one form or other, effective international inspection of all industrial and laboratory facilities, pooling of atomic research and experimental equipment, perhaps international control of essential raw materials. One or more states might object to such an agreement, though this does not seem likely, at least for some months to come. Unless the United States takes the lead, however, there is no hope at all for international controls.

It is neither fitting nor expedient for Christian Churches to advocate detailed technical methods of control. We do not know the manufacturing process, we are not experts in government, and we are too weak to permit divided counsels about secondary issues. The main thing to stress is the need to provide the maximum possible assurance that no one nation or bloc of nations could use atomic weapons as instruments of national policy. The United Nations should be emphasized as the over-all agency of control, to reinforce the constructive work agreed upon at San Francisco, so important as a means to a new fellowship among peoples.

Our efforts should deal with the concrete issues of international control and national safety, not with speculative abstractions like "world government." To be sure, genuine international control over the most destructive and constructive energy yet known would have profound repercussions on international relations. But we have neither the strength nor time to squander on what might or might not be built on international atomic control, particularly when such speculation would divide the forces of world order and provide new arguments to its opponents. We dare not be anything but intensely practical.

The relatively favorable time for action is pitifully short, and all of us woefully unprepared. Let us, therefore, in our weakness and ignorance seek God's strength and light. Let us in our Churches and in our homes seek, in all humility, his guidance for our world, our nation, our Churches and ourselves in this fateful time. Spiritual power alone can cope with atomic power.

### World Order Sunday—November 11, 1945

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# About Books

**Religious Liberty: An Inquiry**, by M. Searle Bates. Harpers. \$3.50.

This study by Dr. Bates, professor of history at Nanking University and onetime Rhodes scholar, under the auspices of a Joint Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Federal Council of Churches, is encyclopedic, well-balanced, completely documented, and scholarly. It deals comprehensively with one of the burning issues of our time and surveys the situation throughout the world.

The opening chapter on "The Problems of Religious Liberty Today" is a series of sixteen case studies describing the problems and trends of the last twenty-five years. These studies range from Russia, the Moslem lands, and Spain in the category of "most acute difficulty," through Germany, Italy, Japan, India, and Latin America, areas of "serious difficulty," to England, the British Commonwealth, and the United States where the issues are comparatively minor. The concluding cases deal with European states predominantly Roman Catholic, predominantly Protestant, and predominantly Orthodox, and, finally, Africa, China, and other areas of Asia.

The second chapter is a sweeping survey of "The Problems of Religious Liberty in History" first in Christendom and then in non-Christian societies.

Chapter 3, "What Is Religious Liberty?" and Chapter 4, "The Grounds of Religious Liberty," are a unity. Among the questions dealt with are relations of Church and State, religious liberty in education, natural law and natural rights, religious liberty and the interests of the organized community, religious liberty in terms of ethics and philosophy, and in terms of Christian theology and tradition, and the position of the Roman Catholic Church.

Chapter 5 deals with "Religious Liberty in Law." Regarding international law there is a clear statement of both theory and practice, a section dealing with treaties, and a discussion of the problem of minorities. The chapter also contains a survey of constitutional provisions for religious liberty. The final chapter deals with proposals in the field of religion, the field of education and public opinion, and the field of government and law.

One is impressed with the author's complete mastery of this vast field and with his objective fairness. His characteristic method is to cite illustrations and quotations illustrating the extremes on an issue and then to seek a fair mediating ground, again citing examples to prove that this middle point is truest to the facts and also the most hopeful. This method is especially well developed in his handling of the Roman Catholic attitude.

For years to come this book will remain a mine of material for anyone writing or speaking on any phase of this immensely important subject. Every minister would do well to have it within reach in his own library or see that it is on the shelves of the public library in his community.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

**Fighting Liberal**, the autobiography of George W. Norris. Macmillan. \$3.50.

Here we have the life story of one of the strong characters of a mighty era in American history. The life of George W. Norris extended from the Civil War to beyond the turning point of World War II. With five terms in the House of Representatives beginning in 1903, followed by five terms in the Senate, his forty years in Washington cover one of the greatest eras of our nation's life. And woven into much of the constructive legislation of this period is the character of George W. Norris.

Born into a pioneer home in north central Ohio, losing his father almost before he could remember him, in his early life he had a hard struggle for an education. The strong character of his mother stands out in these formative years. After an unsatisfactory experience in the Northwest, the young lawyer settled in Nebraska, became a judge, and was elected to Congress as a strong Republican partisan.

Soon after he arrived in Washington his eyes began to open to the evils of blind partisanship. His first brush with the machine was in overthrowing the tyranny of Speaker Joe Cannon. From this time on his life was a continual struggle against the Republican machine, the power trust, and entrenched privilege of every sort, and in favor of the common man.

What a vast number of great legislative battles Norris led or took part in! Here is the story of the Hetch Hetchy power development in California, the Newberry and Vare Senatorial campaign expense scandals, the Teapot Dome oil scandal, the TVA and REA, the "Lame Duck" Amendment, the Unicameral Legislature in Nebraska, and the anti-poll-tax campaign. Here also is the story of his opposition to American participation in World War I and the League of Nations and also his support of lend-lease and American participation in World War II. To read this life story is to review the important events of American history since the turn of the century.

One is impressed with Senator Norris' fair-mindedness toward those who were his bitter opponents. Repeatedly he speaks of the personal integrity of those who held convictions quite the opposite of his. One is also impressed by his faith in the common man and his ability to come to right decisions if permitted to have the truth. Indeed this faith in the common man and in the American democratic way seems to have been his religion.

One feels that this would have been a

better book if it had been shortened by about a third. Nevertheless it is an encouraging book and should prove an inspiration to those, especially young people who are facing a struggle for an education or who are considering investing their lives in some phase of public service of our Government.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

**Alcohol, Science and Society.** THE Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies (1944), Quarterly Journal of Studies of Alcohol. \$5.00.

The twenty-nine lectures contained in this volume are based on mechanical recordings of classroom and seminar lectures and discussions. Their value to Church leaders arises from the fact that they were presented by men with scientific training, authorities in their particular fields, whose objective interest in truth is well-known. Each lecture is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of the questions, answers, and discussion that followed the formal presentation of subject matter. Titles such as the following indicate the help which the series offers to Church workers who want sincerely to face the problem of alcohol and aid in its solution: "The Problem of Alcohol"; "The Physiological Effects of Large and Small Amounts of Alcohol"; "Drinking More of the Social Classes"; "Alcohol and Complex Society"; "Some Economic Aspects of Inebriety"; "Alcohol and Traffic"; "The Role of Religious Bodies in the Treatment of the Inebriety in the United States"; "A Fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous."

A brief word about two other lectures may be used to indicate the practical assistance awaiting any reader. One is "The Churches and Alcohol," by Dr. Roland H. Bainton, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University. After a careful presentation of the various attitudes of religious body throughout history, going back to the attitudes of Judaism in the

Old Testament, and of the early Christian Church, and coming up to more recent times to include the Reformed Movement within the Protestant Church, Dr. Bainton makes this statement: "The Bible and the teachings of the Church, then, afford us no absolute rules, only certain guiding principles. The Churches are not of one mind as to their application, although a large number of Protestants in the United States have come to feel that in our land and time these principles are best exemplified through total abstinence."

The second lecture is entitled "Analysis of Wet and Dry Propaganda." This lecture was delivered by Dwight Anderson, L. B., Director of Public Relations, Medical Society of the State of New York. In his lecture Mr. Anderson explains the effect of wet and dry propaganda and the sixty-six million Americans, over fifteen years of age, who, he says, "sit in the bleachers" and are the object of attempts to influence opinion. He points out what in his opinion is effective propaganda both on the part of those interested in furthering the use of alcohol and those interested in stopping its use altogether. A minister of many years' experience and lifelong interest in the problem of alcoholism heard this lecture, and later read it in this volume. "That lecture," he exclaimed, "ought to be read by every minister in our Church."

JOHN C. WHITE

**Adolescents in Wartime**, edited by James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll;

**Postwar Jobs for Veterans**, edited by Paul Webbink;

**The Disabled Veteran**, edited by Vilma T. Donahue and Clark Tibbits;

**Our Muddled World**, edited by Ernest Minor Patterson;

**Universal Military Training and National Security**, edited by Paul Russell Anderson.

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$2.00 each.

*The Annals* are a standard source for many leaders, students, and general readers who desire to study a given subject, considering in some detail its various aspects from the vantage point of authorities in their particular fields of interest. The five volumes noted here, although published during the last war year, nevertheless deal with problems particularly pertinent to the period of postwar adjustment.

*Adolescents in Wartime* discusses wartime backgrounds, family situations, child labor, health, recreation, and other aspects of the case—all involving problems which will carry over, some of them in aggravated form, into the postwar period. Two other volumes face the problems of jobs and rehabilitation confronting veterans. And, finally, the most recent, *Our Muddled World*, consists of the addresses delivered at the meeting of the Academy in April, 1945, dealing with the situations, problems, relationships, and goals in the postwar world. The last-named volume deals with the pressing problem of military training which will have such a wide-reaching effect on the youth of this country.

Here is a readily available reference library for the Christian citizen, whether student or leader, in search of fact and considered opinion in relation to national and international postwar affairs.—E. G. R.

### Guaranteed Annual Wages

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*Guaranteed Annual Wages*, by Jack Cherrick and George C. Hellickson. An unbiased report showing how the guaranteed annual wage contributes to full employment. University of Minnesota Press. \$2.50.

*Substandard Wages*. An analysis of their extent and effect and plans for raising wage levels. 15 cents.

*Order from* Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D.C.

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